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FOR SCHAUFEELE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR RH

SUBJ: RHODESIA CONFERENCE: RICHARD'S MEETING WITH
IAN SMITH

1. AS REPORTED EARLIER RICHARD MET WITH IAN SMITH,
DAVID SMITH AND JACK GAYLARD ON OCT 23 FROM 11:00 - 12:00
AND FROM 3:30 - 4:30. THE BRITISH MISSION HAS SHOWED US
A RECORD OF THE MEETING.

2. THE MORNING MEETING OPENED WITH RICHARD ASKING FOR
SMITH'S VIEWS ON HOW THE CONSULTATIVE PERIOD BEFORE THE
CONFERENCE OPENED SHOULD BE CONDUCTED. SMITH AGREED THAT
PROLONGED CONSULTATIONS WERE IN ORDER SO THAT THE
NATIONALISTS COULD REFINED THEIR POSITIONS BEFORE THE
CONFERENCE OPENED. DUFF SAID THAT THE BRITISH PLANNED
TO CONDUCT PRIVATE CONSULTATIONS AFTER THE FORMAL OPENING
AND THROUGHOUT THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

3. RICHARD EXPLAINED THE PRESSURES THE BRITISH WERE
UNDER TO INCLUDE OBSERVERS. SMITH ACCEPTED HIS POINT
BUT EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE ANGOLANS WILL PLAY NO
PART. RICHARD REPLIED THAT IF THE ANGOLANS ASKED HE
WOULD HAVE TO CONSULT THE FOUR PRESIDENTS. SMITH SAID
THAT HE WOULD UNDERSTAND THE BRITISH HAVING DIFFICULTY
IN REFUSING TO ACCEPT THE ANGOLANS. RICHARD ALSO MEN-

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TIONED THAT THE RHODESIAN PARTY HAD ASKED TO COME AND

SMITH STATED HIS OPPOSITION. HE WOULD LIKE TO INCLUDE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE RHODESIAN RIGHT WING AND THE TRIBAL CHIEFS BUT WOULD NOT PRESS THE ISSUE.

4. IN DISCUSSING THE SHAPE OF THE TABLE SMITH EXPRESSED HIS INTEREST IN KEEPING THE MODERATES SEPARATE FROM THE RADICALS. HE SAID THAT HE HAD TALKED WITH THE MODERATES IN RHODESIA (NKOMO AND MUZOREWA) AND THEY HAD TOLD HIM THEY WERE PREPARED TO ACCEPT THE PROPOSAL HE HAD PUT FORTH. NKOMO SAID HE HAD LITTLE COMMON GROUND TO SHARE WITH MUGABE BUT HAD JOINED FORCES IN ORDER TO COUNTER MUZOREWA'S GROWING POPULARITY. SMITH CONFIRMED THAT MUZOREWA HAD GREATER POPULARITY THAN NKOMO BUT MUCH LESS LEADERSHIP POTENTIAL. RICHARD STATED THAT IT WAS BRITAIN'S HOPE NKOMO AND MUZOREWA WOULD LEAD THE GOVERNMENT.

5. RICHARD ASKED IF HE TABLED A DOCUMENT SHOULD IT BE BASED ON THE FIVE POINTS OR ANNEX C. SMITH SAID THAT HE HAD NOT SEEN ANNEX C UNTIL HE HAD ALREADY AGREED TO THE FIVE POINTS. HE HAD NOTED THE CAVEAT THAT ANNEX C WAS FOR DISCUSSION PURPOSES ONLY. HE DID NOT PLAN TO TABLE A DOCUMENT AT THE OUTSET OF THE CONFERENCE. RICHARD AGREED AND SAID HE WOULD URGE THE AFRICANS NOT TO DO SO EITHER. SMITH STATED THAT HE WOULD HAVE TO BE CONSISTENT AND SAY THAT HE HAD ACCEPTED AN AGREED PACKAGE FROM DR. KISSINGER. HE HAD TO ASSUME THAT A PACKAGE HAD BRITISH SUPPORT SINCE KISSINGER SAID THAT IT HAD. GAYLARD ADDED THAT SINCE LORD GORONWY-ROBERTS HAD WELCOMED SMITH'S SPEECH DID THIS NOT MEAN THE BRITISH AGREED TO THE PACKAGE. SMITH SAID IF THE FIVE POINTS WERE NOT ACCEPTED THE CONSEQUENCES WOULD BE SERIOUS.

6. SMITH MENTIONED THAT THE NATIONALISTS HAD ASKED HIM IF THE BRITISH WOULD NAME A DEFENSE MINISTER. HE HAD TOLD THEM BRITAIN WOULD NOT DO SO. HE SAID THAT NO WHITES WOULD SERVE UNDER A BLACK MINISTER AND FEW BLACK SOLDIERS WOULD EITHER. HE FELT THAT NKOMO AND MUZOREWA WOULD ACCEPT WHITE MINISTERS IN ORDER TO AVOID A DISPUTE AMONG THE NATIONALISTS.

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7. RICHARD CLOSED THE MEETING SAYING THAT IF SMITH AND HE APPEARED TO AGREE ON TOO MANY ISSUES IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR HIM TO MAKE PROGRESS WITH THE NATIONALISTS. HE SUGGESTED THAT THEY BOTH SAY TO THE PRESS THERE WERE A NUMBER OF POINTS WHICH REMAINED IN DISAGREEMENT.

8. RICHARD OPENED THE AFTERNOON MEETING BY TELLING THE

RHODESIANS HE WOULD PLAY AN ACTIVE ROLE IN THE CONFERENCE AND NOT SERVE AS A SIMPLE UMPIRE. HE SAID "WE REGARDED ANNEX C AS A REASONABLE BASIS AND WOULD DO WHAT WE COULD TO ACHIEVE IT." THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT COULD NOT HOWEVER BE COMMITTED TO ALL DETAILS WITHOUT NEGOTIATIONS. SMITH REPLIED THAT WHILE HE SAW REASON TO PERMIT THE AFRICANS TO LET OFF STEAM HE COULD NOT ACCEPT THE FACT THAT THE KISSINGER PROPOSALS WERE "MERE THOUGHTS." THE PRIMARY PURPOSE OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE WAS TO SET UP A COUNCIL OF STATE.

9. RICHARD REJOINED SAYING THAT THE FUNCTIONS OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE, THE SEPARATION OF POWER BETWEEN THE COUNCIL OF STATE AND THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS AND THE ALLOCATION OF SHORT FALLS ALSO HAD TO BE DISCUSSED. IF THE PACKAGE IS BREACHED, SMITH SAID, HE COULD NOT STAY IN GENEVA. IF THE NATIONALISTS QUESTION THE ESSENTIALS THE CONFERENCE WILL BREAK UP. THE BRITISH IN THEIR LETTER HAD NOT SAID MORE THAN THE COUNCIL OF STATE WILL BE DISCUSSED. RICHARD POINTED OUT THAT ROWLANDS HAD TOLD HIM THESE ITEMS WOULD BE DISCUSSED TO WHICH SMITH REPLIED THERE COULD BE NO QUESTION OF THE BASIC AGREEMENT BEING REOPENED OR FRESH AGREEMENTS BEING REACHED ON OTHER ISSUES. HE HAD BEEN URGED TO USE THE EXACT WORDS CONTAINED IN THE FIVE POINTS AND HAD BEEN ASSURED BY DR. KISSINGER THAT THERE WOULD BE "NO COMEBACK" FROM THE AFRICANS. IF FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES WERE INTRODUCED HE WOULD HAVE TO RETURN THE MATTER BACK TO HIS GOVERNMENT AND OBTAIN A TWO-THIRDS MAJORITY DECISION FROM HIS PARLIAMENT.

10. RICHARD REMINDED SMITH THAT IF HE STOOD PAT ON THE FIVE POINTS THERE WOULD BE NO GENEVA AGREEMENT. HE ASKED
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SMITH IF ANNEX C HAD NOT BEEN MARKED FOR DISCUSSION PURPOSES ONLY. GAYLARD SAID THAT HE THOUGHT THIS MEANT DISCUSSION BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND AMERICANS. RICHARD CORRECTED GAYLARD AND SAID THAT ANNEX C DID NOT REPRESENT A FIRM UK UNDERTAKING. SMITH SAID HE HAD NOT SEEN ANNEX C UNTIL AFTER HE HAD ACCEPTED THE FIVE POINTS AND DUFF AGREED. RICHARD POINTED OUT THAT KISSINGER COULD NOT HAVE SAID THAT THE FIVE POINTS WERE AGREED TO BY THE NATIONALISTS. SMITH SAID THAT HE HAD TO ASSUME THEY HAD BEEN AGREED TO BECAUSE THE PRESIDENTS HAD ACCEPTED. DAVID SMITH REMINDED THE PRIME MINISTER THAT AMBASSADOR SCHAUFELE HAD SAID THE PRESIDENTS DID NOT REJECT THE FIVE POINTS EVEN IF THEY COULD NOT PUBLICLY ACCEPT THEM.

11. GAYLARD INTERVENED AND NOTED THAT DR. KISSINGER HAD

STATED THE PRESIDENTS WOULD BE PREPARED TO NOMINATE NATIONALISTS' CANDIDATES FOR THE COUNCIL OF STATE WHICH IMPLIED THAT THEY HAD ACCEPTED THE FIVE POINTS.

12. SMITH REPEATED WHAT HE THOUGHT WAS HIS ASSURANCE FROM DR. KISSINGER - ONCE THE COUNCIL OF STATE WAS SET UP THE WHOLE EXERCISE WOULD BE RETURNED TO RHODESIAN HANDS AND THERE WOULD BE NO FURTHER OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE. GAYLARD SAID THE FIRST FUNCTION OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE WOULD BE TO SET UP A COUNCIL OF MINISTERS BUT SMITH CUT HIM SHORT AND POINTED OUT WIRES ARE CROSSED AND IT IS NOW OUR JOB TO "GET THINGS BACK ON THE RAILS."

13. RICHARD NOTED THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ANNEX C AND POINT THREE OF THE FIVE POINTS. POINT THREE IS NOT AN ACCURATE REFLECTION OF ANNEX C. SMITH EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT THE BRITISH HAD AGREED TO THE FIVE POINTS AND HAD BEEN SO INFORMED BY DR. KISSINGER. RICHARD COUNTERED SAYING THE BRITISH HAD NOT BEEN AWARE OF THE FIVE POINTS BUT DUFF PARTIALLY CORRECTED HIM BY SAYING THAT HE SEEMED TO RECALL HAVING SEEN THE FIVE POINTS ABOUT THE TIME OF DR. KISSINGER'S SECOND MEETING WITH SMITH. RICHARD ENCOURAGED THE RHODESIANS TO DEAL WITH THE SITUATION AS IT NOW EXISTS AND SAID HE WOULD WORK FOR A STRUCTURE AS CLOSE AS POSSIBLE TO ANNEX

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